SHINING EXAMPLE

of the

AFRICAN-ASIAN PEOPLES

by

Tang Ming-Chao

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THE CHINESE REVOLUTION: A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN-ASIAN PEOPLES

A new and glorious era in the history of the Asian and African peoples opened in October, 1949, when the Chinese peoples, after long years of courageous struggle, finally succeeded in uprooting from their homeland the rule of foreign imperialism and its lackeys, and founded a country in which the people themselves are the masters.

One of the most important results of the Chinese people's victory and their achievements has been to give new impetus and inspiration to the national liberation struggles waged by the awakened peoples of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world.

Although their struggle may take different forms, the peoples of these countries—both those who have recently achieved independence and those still fighting for it—share one thing in common: the growing realisation that the path taken by People's China is the path which must be taken by all oppressed peoples now struggling for peace, national sovereignty, true democracy, and a better life. The glorious victories won by the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have proved to them beyond dispute that, whereas the classic model for the achievement of true democracy in the imperialist

countries is the October Revolution carried out by the Russian peoples, the Chinese revolution is the prototype and shining example of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It was primarily due to the inspired work of Mao Tse-tung who creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions in China—the classic example of the underdeveloped Asian-African country—that the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people achieved victory over imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Despite the opposition of leading international Communist circles who erroneously afforded assistance to the enemies of the Chinese people in the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Tse-tung, successfully united and rallied the people by mobilising the militant peasantry in support of the anti-feudalist anti-imperialist struggle.

In addition, the inexhaustible and united strength of the people has been released for the task of constructing socialism faster, better, and more economically than in any other socialist country. This has already borne fruit in the recent great leap forward in production, as a result of which, for the first time in a socialist country, Communism has begun to push forth sprouts in the life of the people.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

For the peoples of the underdeveloped countries now engaged in the fight against imperialism, the struggle for national liberation is indivisible from the achievement of true democratic rights and freedoms. That is why more and more progressive movements especially in Asia and Africa regard the experiences gained by the Chinese people in establishing the first people's democratic dictatorship in Asia as a model for the future political development of their own countries.

The rights of Chinese citizens were won by the people's own struggle. Political, economic, and social, they are the fruits of a long and bitter fight against domestic and foreign oppressors, and of tremendous labours in rebuilding China. China's constitution, adopted on September 20, 1954, enacts these rights into the fundamental law of the state.

A Big, United and Fraternal Family

The Constitution states that "citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law". In other words, with the exception of the landlord class, counter-revolutionaries, lawless elements, and those attempting to oppose the policies of the Communist Party, all Chinese citizens possess equal political, social and economic rights, irrespective of race, sex, creed, property or education.

This provision applies equally to all nationalities inhabiting People's China, where racial discrimination has become a relic of the past. Apart from the Han (Chinese) people, who form the greater part of the population, these consist of some 60 minority nationalities, numbering about 40 million, and occupying 50 to 60 per cent of the total area of China.

Many of these minority groups owe their recent return to the great Chinese motherland to the enlightened policy of national liberation pursued by the Han people, under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. Thus the advance of the Chinese armed forces into Inner Mongolia in 1947 resulted in the setting up of a People's Government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, while in October, 1949, the occupation of Urumchi by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, freed the peoples of Sinkiang from out-dated nationalist rule. In the same way, the peaceful liberation of Tibet was begun in 1950 by the armed forces of People's China and completed in the spring of 1959, when the people of Tibet hailed enthusiastically the decisive victory won by the People's Liberation Army in completely smashing the rebellion raised by local nationalist elements under such reactionary slogans as "Drive away the Han people", and "Independence for Tibet". This handful of counter-revolutionary traitors, numbering only 20,000, had for some time engaged in rebellious activities aimed at transforming the class struggle into a national struggle and a struggle to "defend religion". Under the pretext of opposing the immigration of the Han nationality, land reform, the

liquidation of reactionary religious institutions, and the transfer of Tibetan youth to China for socialist re-education, these counter-revolutionary forces consistently attempted to disrupt the solidarity of the Han and Tibetan peoples. Finally a short time ago with the collusion of the Tibetan local government, they launched aggressive attacks against the Peoples Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa, using as an excuse the fabrication that their religious leader, the Dalai Lama, was about to be detained by units of the Chinese armed forces.

The crushing of this reactionary revolt by the People's Liberation Army has been warmly welcomed by all Tibetan patriots who see the dissolution of the traitorous Tibetan local government and the assumption of its functions by progressive elements closely linked to the Han people as essential steps towards preserving the solidarity of all nationalities within the Chinese motherland.

Fundamental Rights and Democratic Freedoms

Under the Constitution of People's China, all citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and stand for election whatever their nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property, status or length of residence. The only exceptions are insane persons and "those deprived by law of the right to vote and stand for election"—that is, all persons guilty of counter-revolutionary or anti-Party tendencies.

As in the Soviet Union, all leading organs of government (and of the Communist Party) operate under the

principle of democratic centralism—that is, all directing bodies from top to bottom are democratically elected, minority views are in all cases subordinated to those of the majority, and all decisions of high bodies are absolutely binding on lower bodies.

In practice, this means that electors whose qualifications have been established by the Party, enjoy complete freedom to elect to government organs at each level, a list of selected candidates chosen by progressive organisations in close consultation with functionaries of the Communist Party. Although in all cases, the number of candidates nominated equals the number of deputies to be elected, voters may, if they wish, record their disfavour of any candidate by not voting for him, or by substituting other names on their ballot cards. Reactionary elements who exercise this right, contrary to the advice of the Party, are, of course liable to prosecution and even execution for electoral sabotage and counter-revolutionary activity under Article 62 of the Election Law of 1953.

This explains why, as a result of the exhaustive work of explanation and persuasion performed by Party agitators, the majority of candidates receive unanimous votes.

All sections of society and all democratic parties are represented in the National People's Congress, the supreme organ of State power, whose function is to approve the resolutions and policy recommendations put before it by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Each deputy has, of course, the right to reject these proposals, and only when they receive majority

support do they become law. In practice they always receive unanimous support. The reason for this was given by Liu Ting-yi, a leading member of the Chinese Communist Party, in an address to the NPC on June 11, 1957, in which he declared:

> "*From repeated experience, the Chinese people have understood that opposition to the Communist Party constitutes treason.*"

Besides the extensive democratic rights granted under the Constitution, very wide personal freedoms are also guaranteed—in particular freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, and freedom of association and assembly.

These freedoms were considerably developed and extended following Mao Tse-tung's historic speech of February 27, 1957. In this speech, the inspired leader of the Chinese people creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory to show that, within a socialist society, the contradictions existing between the proletariat, the peasantry and the bourgeoisie were non-antagonistic and that, in certain conditions, such contradictions could exist even between the masses and the State itself. In so doing he exposed certain dogmatic bureaucratic, and commandist tendencies, which had appeared not only in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, but also in certain fraternal Parties in the European countries of the socialist camp. These tendencies, in direct violation of the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, expressed themselves in an open contempt for the opinions of the masses. As a result of over-emphasis on uniformity and the mistaken attitude of commandism and coercion

adopted by Party officials, those in leading positions became separated from the masses, and contradictions deepened between the Party and the people—especially in European people's democracies, such as Hungary and Poland where the struggle between great power chauvinism and counter-revolutionary nationalism in 1956 at one time threatened the monolithic unity of the socialist camp.

In extending democratic freedom of expression—not only of the Press, but also in literature, the arts, and other spheres of public life—the Party of course foresaw that a ruthless struggle would have to be waged against hostile opposition elements attempting to exploit these democratic measures in order to advocate counter-revolutionary views, and to pursue reactionary activities contrary to the interests of the people.

The majority of these misguided elements, having undergone re-education through corrective labour, have now confessed their mistakes and rejected the erroneous view, propagated by Rightist elements, that the right of free expression can be exercised in any other way than under the unconditional leadership of the Communist Party.

While People's China today leads the socialist camp in granting and developing freedom of criticism, expression, and assembly, this does not mean that there has been any compromise with bourgeois concepts, such as "freedom" to criticise the central leadership, or sabotage production through labour agitation.

BUILDING A NEW LIFE

Territorially, China is the largest country in the world, with the exception of the Soviet Union. Its area, 9,736,000 square kilometres, is roughly equal to that of the whole of Europe.

The Chinese nation is the oldest and largest in the world. Its population today is approaching 700 million—in other words it is about three times greater than that of the Soviet Union, and four times that of the U.S.A. At the present rate of increase, it is expected to total well over 1,000 million by 1980—or about three times the present population of the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. combined.

This tremendous growth of population is sometimes viewed as a weakness in imperialist circles where it is alleged that population increases will lead to "unbearable pressure" on food resources. These critics, not only overlook the historic mission which the Chinese people will have to fulfil in the economic development of vast and sparsely populated areas of Central and South Eastern Asia; but also China's unique achievement in introducing new and higher forms of socialist production, enabling her economy to expand at a faster rate than her population.

Far from representing a weakness, China's immense population represents one of her greatest assets since it

provides enormous manpower resources. These have compensated for a low level of mechanisation in agriculture, industry, and construction work, and have enabled her to aim higher, and achieve greater, faster, better and more economic results in constructing socialism than any other country of the socialist camp. Combined with her economic resources, this gigantic manpower reserve, also represents the greatest military potential in the world and makes China unique as the only country capable of surviving a nuclear war.

The Great Leap Forward

With the emancipation of the peoples creative ability under the democratic constitution, China's economic construction has proceeded at a rate unique even within the socialist camp. Even the rapid progress of socialist construction made in the Soviet Union during the past 42 years cannot compare with the rate of production increases achieved in China in the years which have elapsed since the liberation. In less than ten years, China has not only concluded the socialist transformation of her agriculture, but, starting as a backward underdeveloped country has also become an industrial power of the first magnitude.

The policy of constructing socialism by leaps and bounds, initiated by the Chinese People's Government, resulted in 1958, the year of the great leap forward, in unprecedentedly great economic successes which have enabled China to catch up and surpass several of the big European capitalist countries in the output of major

industrial products. Steel production soared to 11,080,000 tons and is expected to rise to 18 million tons this year; coal production rose to 270 million tons—double the output for 1957—and is expected to increase to 380 million tons in 1959. At the same time China's output of cotton rose to 3.35 million tons and is expected to increase to 5 million tons this year, while the gigantic increase in grain production (375 million tons) has refuted once and for all imperialist predictions that food production would be unable to keep pace with population increases. During the current year it is planned to expand this production figure to 525 million tons.

In some cases, the accuracy of these statistics has been affected by overenthusiasm and exaggeration on the part of local Party officials who became dizzy with success. For example, transportation and manpower difficulties connected with the campaign to raise steel production meant that grain crops could not be fully-harvested in some regions. This led to certain marked differences between official grain production figures and the actual yield available. Since State purchases of grain were based on official figures, food shortages persist to some extent in rural areas. Statistics for industrial output, of course include reject and low quality products. With the rapid growth of technological progress, it is hoped soon to attain quality as well as quantity in production.

China's gigantic economic successes would have been impossible without some sacrifices on the part of the people. Thus, while, last year the production of steel,

coal and machinery was doubled or trebled, the output of light industry increased only by 50 per cent over 1957, and the output of consumer goods by 40 per cent. This has resulted in certain hardships, including food shortages necessitating the intensified rationing of food and other commodities in some areas. Owing to the impetuous leap forward in heavy industrial production the national economy has also been subject to unequal development in some sectors, and this has produced a temporary dislocation of transportation systems, food production, and commerce.

Again, the need to maintain a high level of economic deliveries to the U.S.S.R. in return for Soviet assistance has restricted, for the moment, the ability of People's China to meet some of her commitments in the sphere of international trade although trade ties linking People's China with Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world are being steadily consolidated.

PEOPLE'S COMMUNES

During 1958, an event of unparalleled significance, not only in Chinese history, but in the history of the world, took place in China's vast countryside—the establishment of the peoples commune movement, under which, for the first time in any country, Communism has begun to push forth sprouts in the life of the people.

The movement to set up people's communes was the outcome not only of an intensive growth of the productive forces of Chinese society, but also of a growing realisation amongst the Chinese people that fraternal economic aid within the socialist camp was insufficient to meet the demands of China's plans for rapid industrial expansion, that only by their own efforts could they raise their living standards and lay the foundations for an early transition to Communism.

In order to ensure the necessary acceleration in socialist construction, it was obvious that new and appropriate relations of production were required, and that the existing form of agricultural co-operative was handicapped by lack of manpower and resources from carrying out "the tremendous leap forward" in production. Thus the peoples communes—formed by merging a number of cooperative farms and integrating economic, social and political affairs into one unit—came into being all over the country under the guidance of the Communist Party.

The first main characteristic of the commune is its enormous scale. While a co-operative farm usually consisted of a few hundred households, the commune averages four to five thousand. As a single economic and social unit, it handles not only agriculture, but animal husbandry, sidelines, fisheries, etc. It also engages in industry, trade, cultural and educational affairs and military training. All aspects of its economic, political and social, and cultural life are organised by a management committee, under the leadership of the Communist Party, which is responsible to the central leadership for the fulfilment of annual production targets in accordance with the state plan, the payment of taxes, and the organisation of labour along military lines.

The communal system also ensures the contradictions between workers and peasants, based on the remnants of unequal bourgeois rights, will gradually disappear. Already the previous disparity in living conditions and remuneration between these two classes has been ended by an all-round down-scaling of wages amongst all groups, and their partial replacement by free supplies of food and other basic necessities, in accordance with Communist principle of "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs".

The second main characteristic of the commune is that it creates conditions under which the Party, through its control over all the means of production, can foster collective thinking amongst the people and bring about the transformation towards Communism of the traditional way of life of the old society.

In the past, when production units were scattered throughout the countryside, the Party's political and ideological work amongst the masses was limited to working hours. As a result the socialist atmosphere in the villages was unsatisfactory, and bourgeois individualist thinking made inroads amongst the people. In the absence of all-round supervision by Party cadres, it was possible for undesirable characters to carry out harmful activities, sowing dissension between the leadership and the masses, sabotaging production and pursuing anti-Party activities.

All this has been changed under the people's communes, where the Party is able to play a leading role, not only in the production activities of the people, but also in their spare time. Owing to this supervision of all forms of educational and cultural activity (including cinemas, theatres, libraries, scientific research centres and lecture halls) the management committee of the commune has been enabled to permeate the daily lives of the people with the spirit of Communism and ensure that the trend of thought amongst all members of the commune is fully in line with that of the Party.

An End to Bourgeois Individualism

Since the communes represent a higher level of socialist development than agricultural cooperatives the last remnants of individual ownership of the means of production are being eliminated under the communal system. This includes, gardens, vegetable plots, livestock, and such personal possessions as kitchen utensils

which can be melted down and recast into larger pots and pans for use in communal kitchens. The houses of individual members may also in many cases be dismantled and the bricks, tiles and timber used by the commune as needed.

Since the workers' living quarters are, in general, united with production organisations, conditions are fully present for an all-round organisation of production tasks, military training, political and cultural study, cultural and physical activities, as well as the time for eating and sleeping.

In order to attain maximum labour efficiency and the overfulfilment of production targets, members of the commune are divided into production brigades working under the principle of voluntary labour without definite limit. In most communes, the working day (which includes periods of military training and political study) begins at 5 a.m. and ends at 6 p.m. with one and a half hours rest.

When Communism has been fully achieved, payment of wages will of course be totally abolished and remuneration will be governed by the principle "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs".

In most factories and production units the piecework wage system has now been abolished, and appropriate wage levels are fixed by the management committee of the commune which is guided throughout by the principle

that "the rate of increase of wages must always be slower than the rate of production". This means that, once a certain average wage level has been reached, the rate of wage increases remains stable while production targets are raised.

Owing to the persistence of bourgeois individualist thinking in some communes, some workers complained that, in effect, they have had to work harder for the same wages.

In fact, all members who observe labour discipline and show sufficient labour enthusiasm, are assured of receiving wages equal to the value of their labour as determined by the commune's management committee.

In the case of insufficient labour enthusiasm or absenteeism, of course, members of the commune are subject to disciplinary action including demotion to lower wage grades or reduction of free supplies.

All members of a production brigade are collectively responsible for the observance of labour discipline, and lagging behind on the part of one member can only result in penalties for all.

The Great Transformation of Society

In the view of the Chinese Communist Party, bourgeois individualism is the source of all evil and the great enemy of Communism; without eliminating individualism, it is impossible to build Communism.

Similarly, the struggle to achieve Communism must involve the elimination of the basic units of the old

society—parochialism and small family life—with their bourgeois conception of individual rights and loyalties. Under the communal system, these out-dated rights and loyalties are being rapidly supplanted by collective rights and allegiance to a new type of big family saturated with revolutionary comradeship—the revolutionary family of the factory, the agricultural co-operative, of New China itself.

In the people's communes, the hampering effects on production of small family life are being liquidated through the establishment of communal institutions under Party management. These liberate workers' dependents from household chores and enable them to play a fuller role in the economic life of the community. Similarly, the setting up of Happiness Rest Homes for aged members of the family has contributed to the break up of the patriarchal system, and enabled even the old to play their part in raising production—either through the formation of food production teams during their last years or in contributing their bodies to increase fertiliser output after death.

Under the communal system, a child passes into the ownership of the community at the age of one month—after its mother's maternity leave is over. (Parents are of course permitted to visit the child after work and even take it home with them for short periods.) Its socialist education begins at the age of three with entry into a kindergarten, where it is trained to live the collective way, form collective ideas and respect labour discipline. In this way, it is possible to eradicate from the start all

individualistic thoughts based on small family life, and to ensure the development of a new collective personality—an ardent worker for Communism whose sole allegiance is to the big revolutionary family of the commune.

Combating Local Nationalism and Superstitious Beliefs

Another important aspect of the communal movement is that it forms a vital landmark on the road towards complete national assimilation and the fusion of all nationalities within a single common socialist culture. Events have shown that the former small-scale co-operatives in the minority regions, composed of a single minority nationality, often gave rise to harmful manifestations of local nationalism and regionalism, opposed to the central leadership. These tendencies are now rapidly being eliminated with the establishment of multi-national communes uniting different nationalities under the leadership of the Han people (who, owing to their advanced political consciousness, have already been allotted leading positions in the administration and economy of the autonomous minority regions).

In assisting their less advanced brothers along the road to Communism, Han cadres, in accordance with Party directives, are observing complete respect for those traditions and customs of the minority nationalities, which do not prove harmful to socialist construction. At the same time, as fighting materialists, they are waging a tireless campaign to propagate scientific knowledge amongst their brother nationalities. This has already resulted in many minority nationalities discarding out-dated religious superstitions and adopting a scientific and

materialist approach to production problems. In many parts of the country this new approach recently found spontaneous expression in the mass demolition of temples of local deities and the levelling of land used as graveyards. The local deities which, in the past were worshipped by the peasants, were either thrown into the ovens or smashed to pieces, and, within a few days, all the temples of local deities were completely demolished. In the interests of the communal economy, the bricks, tiles and coffins thus retrieved were used for the erection of boards for public bulletins, broadcasting platforms, propaganda kiosks and lavatories. The graves of the dead with their contents were either pulverised for fertiliser or buried deep in the ground, thus extending the area of land under cultivation. This was indeed Communism in action !

Under the guidance of Han cadres, minority nationality groups of the Islamic, Buddhist and other religious faiths have also been brought to understand the uneconomic and anti-social aspect of many out-dated survivals of the past, such as animal sacrifices, religious feasts, rites and holidays which slow down production and impair labour enthusiasm. To begin with, of course, it has been necessary to retain separate mess halls for certain religious groupings, such as the Huis (Moslems), who refused to eat the flesh of certain animals. With the growth of progressive thinking amongst these peoples, however, it has become possible to make important economies in the life of the commune by abolishing separate messing arrangements and establishing truly communal dining halls with standardised meals for all.

A Period of Consolidation

As a result of the gigantic successes already achieved by the people's communes in accelerating socialist construction and actively preparing for the transition to Communism, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recently adopted new measures for their consolidation, improvement and expansion throughout the country.

At the same time, certain shortcomings in local Party organisation and ideological work amongst the masses which became apparent in the initial period have made it necessary to regulate to some extent the speed of the advance towards collective ownership.

In many communes, mismanagement and over-emphasis on industrial and construction work resulted in grave shortages of basic commodities and foodstuffs, often producing a break-down in the free supply system. Owing to neglect of food production in certain communes for example, crops of sweet potatoes, paddy and maize and other foodstuffs were left to rot in the fields, while transportation shortages and storage difficulties seriously affected food supplies. In several cases food shortages were exacerbated by a shortage of vegetables resulting from the abolition of individual vegetable plots and their incorporation into communal property.

Many of these shortcomings are intensified as a result of the evil development of a Commandist attitude on the part of many Party cadres who, becoming dizzy with success, adopted a rude and overbearing attitude, affected

excessively high living standards, exploited the militia system to infringe democratic life, and proved unwilling to do the patient work of educating the masses by persuasion. This often resulted, not only in lack of ideological preparedness amongst the people, but, in many cases, in bewilderment, resentment and opposition to the policies of the Party.

Despite the tireless educational work of most Party cadres, bourgeois individualism has persisted in some rural areas like a case of stubborn ringworm. In many communes, for instance, serious losses of communal property have resulted from the bourgeois attitude towards property adopted by backward elements amongst the peasantry. Before joining the commune, these elements sold their chickens and pigs for personal gain, distributed cash and livestock belonging to the co-operative, and even killed their livestock and feasted for several days rather than allow them to become collective property.

Similarly grave violations of labour discipline harmful to production have resulted from the bourgeois individualist attitude adopted by some circles towards collective labour. Some workers not only objected to being mobilised for production tasks in other areas, but even claimed a right to choose their own type of labour.

In some cases, the voice of bourgeois individualism was also raised in opposition to certain aspects of collective life, such as quality and quantity of food in communal mess halls, and the break-up of the small family system. Although politically conscious members stated their

preference for collective life over small family life, there were some who developed confused thinking and declared: "In the small family in the past, members of the household ate whatever they liked and drank what beverages they wished. All day long, members of the family, old and young, got together chatting and laughing. Was this not heart warming?" Socially backward elements complained that many old people had been placed in homes for the aged against their will, or argued that if children were taken from their parents at an early age and brought up in communal institutions, they would forsake their kinsmen and close relatives.*

In order to combat these manifestations of bourgeois individualism, an intensive campaign is now being pursued against the class enemy in the communes based on re-education through labour service, intensive propaganda work amongst the peasants, and the strengthening of the Party's political control of management and administration. At the same time, so as to restore its links with the masses in preparation for the next leap forward, the Party has introduced certain temporary reforms aimed at regulating the former impetuous pace of advance towards Communism.

Thus, in order to encourage labour enthusiasm amongst commune members, it has been decided to place less emphasis for a time on the free supply system, and

* "If the cow does not see its calf around after a long while, it will certainly roar a few times. If the animals act this way, human beings will certainly react in a better way". (*People's Daily, December* 16, 1958.)

more on wages paid according to work done. Important measures have also been initiated in connection with working hours. This guarantees to all ordinary commune members a minimum of eight hours sleep in each 24-hour period. It is also provided that children under the age of nine should not be permitted to do work injurious to their health. The object of these enlightened reforms is to ensure that the peasants and workers get sufficient rest for the sake of their health, and enable them to achieve forward leaps at a greater speed in the future.

It has also proved necessary to regulate to some extent the speed of advance towards collective living. For example, individual members have been allowed to retain, for the time being such private possessions as have not already become collective property—that is clothing, bedding, furniture, small farm tools, domestic animals, and in some cases, their own houses.*

The Basic Unit of Society

The measures taken to regulate the speed of the development of the people's communes do not, of course,

* This measure is designed primarily to remove certain misconceptions over the nature of communal property existing amongst overseas relatives of commune members. Owing to the prevalence of bourgeois individualistic ideas on personal property amongst this overseas community, there has recently been a sharp decline in funds remitted from abroad for the maintenance of individual dependents now living under the communal system. Once these overseas peoples have been convinced that in supplementing collective property they are in fact supporting their own dependents, this important source of funds will be rapidly restored.

mean that there has been any deviation from the ultimate goal—the achievement of collective ownership by the whole people within the shortest possible time.

On the contrary, the Chinese Communist Party firmly adheres to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the uninterrupted revolution, holding that no Great Wall exists between the democratic revolution and the socialist-revolution, or between Socialism and Communism. They refuse to let this revolution halt—even for a moment.

Insufficient understanding of this Marxist-Leninist principle has recently led to incorrect thinking in certain sections of the international working class movement, where leading circles have expressed scepticism as to China's ability—with her present level of industrial and technological development—to complete the phase of socialist construction and enter Communism within the near future.

Critics of the people's commune system in these countries have maintained that the advance to Communism is possible only after the establishment of a highly developed industrial and agricultural base, during the period of socialist construction. For this reason they claimed that China would enter Communism long after the European socialist countries—where all-round mechanisation of industry and agriculture is most highly developed.

This formalist and dogmatic approach, based on an incorrect evaluation of the significance of the people's

communes, led, for a time, to some weakening of economic cooperation between People's China and the USSR—another development which contributed to the decision to revise temporarily plans for the expansion of the communal system throughout the country.

However, these difficulties have now been largely overcome following fraternal discussions, aimed at strengthening mutual cooperation within the socialist camp. As a result of clarifications and explanations put forward by the Chinese People's Government, fraternal Communist Parties now understand the unique significance of the people's communes as a development combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete conditions in economically backward countries. They are now fully convinced that, while European socialist countries are free to achieve Communism by different methods and at a different pace, People's China, basing herself on Marxist-Leninist theory, has made possible a more rapid rate of advance through the adoption of a policy of simultaneously building socialism and, laying the material and spiritual foundations for the transition from socialism to Communism.

In recognition of this unique development of Marxist-Leninism the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union has now modified its original proposition that the European socialist countries will be the first to enter Communism, and has advanced the creative proposition of the more or less simultaneous transition to Communism of all socialist countries.

Throughout the socialist camp there is increasing support for the people's communes as the most appropriate form of organisation to accelerate socialist construction and bring about the transition to Communism—not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but in some European countries too.

GREAT CHAMPION OF THE ASIAN AND AFRICAN PEOPLES

Illuminated by the spirit of Asian-African solidarity, born at Bandung and continued at the Asian-African Peoples Solidarity Conference in Cairo, the just struggles of the Asian and African peoples to win and safeguard national independence, maintain peace and free themselves from the colonialist legacy of economic and cultural backwardness, are advancing in leaps and bounds.

In pursuit of these aims, the peoples of the two continents see before them the shining example of People's China, a former semi-colonial country, whose crushing victories over imperialism and tremendous achievements in national construction have charted the path of their own future independence, freedom, power and prosperity.

Nor is this all. Despite the support and encouragement afforded to the rebellious Tibetan clique by Indian expansionists and other reactionary political figures in Asia—who have used the Tibetan rebellion as a pretext for slandering People's China and interfering in her internal affairs, there is growing awareness amongst these peoples that, in People's China, flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood, they have for the first time in history found a true champion of the Asian-African spirit—a powerful bulwark of the oppressed nations in their struggle for freedom and independence. an international force capable

of defending the cause of the under-privileged peoples and compelling respect for their aspirations throughout the world.

China's Role within the Socialist Camp

As the most outstanding disciple and continuer of Marxist-Leninist policies, Mao Tse-tung, the revered leader of the Chinese people has enabled People's China to assume a role of ever increasing importance in the affairs of the socialist camp. The growing significance of this role of guidance has been demonstrated time and time again within recent years, and especially, during 1956 when People's China bore the main responsibility for maintaining the monolithic unity of the socialist camp.

Just as the Soviet people have maintained firm solidarity with the peace-loving people of China in their struggle against Tibetan reaction, so did the Chinese people stand firmly side by side with the Soviet people in their opposition to the upsurge of counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary and other European socialist countries. At the same time, during the reactionary ferment in Europe the Chinese Communist Party was able to utilise its own rich experience to correct a number of dogmatic mistakes which had arisen in leading circles concerning the correct handling of contradictions between the Party and the people. In particular, it furthered the consolidation of future relations between the socialist countries by emphasising the need for big nations to pay more attention to avoiding the mistakes of big nation chauvinism, and for smaller nations to avoid the mistake of nationalist

deviation. There is no doubt that China's great initiative in supporting the demands of a number of European socialist countries for the strengthening of democracy and internal independence was of vital importance in maintaining the revolutionary enthusiasm of the international Communist movement based on firm adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles.

The unique role played by China in solving contradictions within the socialist camp during 1956 has greatly enhanced her prestige in many of the European peoples democracies, including Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, who are today linked to China by ever-growing ties based on friendship, equality and mutual opposition to all forms of big nation chauvinism. These links are reflected not only in the increasing enthusiasm in these countries for the achievements of the Chinese people, but also, in some of them, by a growing readiness to learn from the rich experiences of People's China and adapt her working methods to the development of their own economics.

At the same time, giving practical expression to her growing role of ideological leadership within the socialist camp, People's China has placed herself in the forefront of the ruthless struggle now being waged by all democratic countries against treacherous revisionist tendencies—especially those exhibited by the present leadership of Yugoslavia which has alienated itself from the ranks of the international Communist movement and is pursuing a servile policy of surrender to imperialism.

Fattened by the dollars of treachery and corruption, the renegades of the Tito clique have lost no opportunity to sabotage the unity of the socialist camp and sow dissension between this camp and the Asian-African countries. In particular, they are seeking under the guise of "neutralism" to undermine the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa, and lead these countries away from the road of peace and genuine neutrality.

Forward in the Spirit of Bandung!

The unique position occupied by People's China in the vanguard of the Asian-African solidarity movement is fully recognised by the Soviet Union, the sincere friend and faithful ally of the Chinese people.

It has become increasingly clear to the leadership of the socialist countries in recent years that, while the Soviet Union, by reason of her vast experience, must remain the core of the international Communist movement in European countries, People's China as an Asian country, has a role of special importance to play in the Asian-African region and in other economically backward areas of the world.

In fulfilling this role, it is clear that the Chinese people possess certain natural advantages which have been denied, by history and geography, to their Soviet brothers. In the first place, as an Asian country united by racial and historic ties to the peoples of her region, People's China is able at all times to place the interests of the Asian and African peoples first in the formulation of her international policies. On the other hand, recent

events have shown that in fulfilling its great role of leadership in Europe, the U.S.S.R. has sometimes been forced to pursue policies which contradict the interests and aspirations of the Asian and African countries. For example, during the Anglo-American aggression against Lebanon and Jordan in July 1958, People's China was in a position to offer immediate all-out support for the just struggles of the Arab peoples, including the despatch of ex-servicemen to the Arab countries to defend world peace. Owing to current developments in its policy towards the Western countries, however, the Soviet Union was unable to undertake similar commitments, in the belief that "the participation of volunteers would mean real war".

Nor is this an isolated example of the difficulties experienced by the U.S.S.R. in reconciling its policy in the European countries with its responsibilities towards the peoples of Asia and Africa, many of whom still live under European colonialist domination. On September 19th 1958, for example, the courageous liberation struggle of the Algerian people resulted in the formation of a Provisional Government of Algeria in Cairo. This was recognised three days later by People's China whose support for the heroic Algerian people has never wavered from the start. Yet, owing to the special role allotted to French progressive elements in the future destiny of Algeria and its need to maintain fraternal links with the French people, the Soviet Union has been unable to recognise the representatives of the Algerian national liberation movement.

It is necessary to show proper understanding for the historical and geographical disadvantages at which the Soviet people are placed in their relations with the Asian and African countries. It is no fault of the Russian people that geography has placed them *in Europe*, or that history has decreed that the greater part of Soviet territory *should lie in Asia*. Nothing could be more erroneous than to attempt to identify the Soviet people, who have always resolutely supported the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian-African peoples, with their heritage of tsarist imperialist expansion in Central Asia.

The peoples of China are determined to retain at all costs their monolithic unity with the Russian people who recognise the Chinese people, an Asian people whose history is untainted by a colonialist past, should assume a role of increasing importance in the leadership of the Asian-African People's Solidarity movement.